THESE BE THEY WHO SEPARATE THEMSELVES, SENSUAL,—
Epistle of Jude.

THE MORMON USURPATION.

AN OPEN LETTER ADDRESSED TO THE

COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY

—OF THE—

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

—BY—

JOSEPH NIMMO, Jr.

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THE MORMON USURPATION.

THE COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY
OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

GENTLEMEN:—About the middle of November last in the course of a somewhat protracted journey, I arrived at Salt Lake City. At that time an intense excitement prevailed throughout the Territory of Utah, consequent upon the enforcement of the Edmunds Act for the Suppression of Polygamy. Certain prominent ecclesiastics of the Mormon Church had been convicted of that crime and sent to prison, while John Taylor, the "President, Prophet, Seer and Revelator" of the Church, and several of the Apostles and Bishops were in hiding, in order to evade arrest. A series of Mormon outrages beginning on the 4th of July 1885, had been perpetrated, as it is believed, at the instigation, and by the direction of the Mormon hierarchy, and apparently with the object in view of intimidating or otherwise frustrating the efforts of federal officers engaged in the enforcement of the Edmunds law. It was the prevailing opinion of loyal Americans, who for years had resided in Utah, that the Mormons had reached a point, where, at all hazards they had resolved by violent means, once more to resist the authority of the United States. The immediate danger appeared to be that the more ignorant, and baser portion of the Mormon population might give vent to their passions in riotous outbreak. The entire police force, and constabulary of the Territory being Mormons, and subject to the behests of the Mormon church, not a man of them could be made available for the preservation of the peace in such an exigency as that just mentioned. Realizing this fact the Governor of the Territory called upon the President of the United States for additional troops. The officer in command

of Fort Douglas, concurred as to the necessity for such action. Thereupon re-enforcements were ordered to Salt Lake City, by the authorities at Washington, and the danger of bloodshed was averted.

It was during this critical period that I visited Utah. I travelled as a private citizen, upon my personal errand, and without the remotest idea of investigating the "Mormon Problem," —much less of writing about it. But in the prosecution of my self-imposed labors, I came in contact with officers of the National Government, and with prominent citizens engaged in the business interests of the Territory, by which means, the facts above mentioned were vividly brought to my attention. Whether I invited the attention of these gentlemen to commerce or transportation, or agriculture, or irrigation, or the raising of horses, cattle and sheep 'on the range,' or to the meteorology and climatology of the territory, the momentous question of the hour came up for consideration. Thus through that sympathy of mind with mind, which naturally arises in considering intense issues involving personal interests, as well as the public welfare, I found myself unconsciously drawn into the investigation of Mormonism as a factor in the political affairs of the country. And now as the result of somewhat careful inquiries in Utah, and of historic researches there and among the archives of the government at Washington, I have arrived at the following conclusions:

First. That there has been, during the past forty years, an absolute domination of an ecclesiastical organization over the political affairs of the Territory of Utah.

Second. That this organization with its following is disloyal to the government of the United States.

In a word I have become convinced that the practical domination of a despotic hierarchy over governmental affairs, is, by far, *the greater evil in Utah.*

In attempting to bring these matters clearly to your view, and in urging upon you what appears to me to be the proper remedial measure for the cure of this political evil, I shall confine myself as closely as possible to facts of history, to recorded expressions of Mormon faith and practice, and to recent occurrences, some of which transpired while I was a sojourner in Utah.

UPB

THE GENESIS AND EARLY DEVELOPMENT OF MORMONISM.

The institution of Mormonism is based upon a supposed revelation of the Almighty, in the person of an angel, to Joseph Smith, about the year 1827, at Palmyra in the State of New York. To him, professedly, the book of Mormon was given. This revelation involved the establishment of a theocracy, known as "The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints," and also as "The Kingdom of God on Earth." From its very inception, Mormonism has therefore been essentially a politico-religious organization, and as such, has clashed with the governmental institutions of every state and territory in which it has acquired a *habitat.* Upon the ground of its assumed divine origin, it has from the beginning set itself up above all human law. Nor has it disguised its contempt for that which, to the rest of the world, is implied by the word, *civilization.* For the ministrations of the medical profession, it has substituted the laying on of hands by the priesthood, and it has tabooed the legal profession and all the established methods of jurisprudence, in order that justice might be administered among its followers by alleged revelation, and inspired utterances of its priesthood. Claiming as its charter of government, direct authority from Almighty God, it has from the beginning assumed to be the only legitimate government on earth, and has openly and arrogantly declared all other governments to be merely human, and therefore iniquitous. It asserts the supposititious revelations made to Joseph Smith to be of higher authority than the laws of the United States. This was the boastful utterance of Mormonism in its infancy at Kirtland, Ohio, and it is the reply which within the last three months, Mormon apostles, and high-priests have given to the Judge of the Supreme Court, of the District of Utah, when asked if they had anything to say why the judgment of the court should not be pronounced against them for the crime of polygamy. In a thousand ways Mormonism runs in the face of the moral and intellectual instincts of the age. Psychologically considered, it is the most astounding abnormal phenomenon of the age. And yet, as I shall attempt to show, this fungoid parasite upon the body politic has for nearly forty years, not only been tolerated, but it has been protected and sustained by the government of the

United States. In support of this statement I shall attempt to make clear to you the fact that during that period it has been allowed to dominate the political affairs of the Territory of Utah, and that at the same time it has been supported in this usurpation of governmental functions by funds drawn from the national treasury.

Mormonism appears to have been the joint product of a syndicate of spiritual cranks, who "pooled their issues" in giving birth to this monstrosity. In its theological and sacerdotal institutions it is eclectic, and to some extent protean. It is characterized by such vagaries as baptism for the dead, celestial marriage, and the establishment of two general orders of priesthood—the Aaronic and the Melchizedekian, among which are "Twelve Apostles." The Mormons also maintain the right of the priesthood to supervise and interfere in the social interests of the people, down to the "setting up of a stocking." They are, in a word, instructed by their spiritual guides to "take council" of the priesthood in all things. About 20 per cent. of the entire male population belong to the priesthood, and in different degrees according to rank "possess spiritual gifts". All of these regard themselves as being in a greater or less degree inspired. The Almighty is supposed to reveal to each and every one of them, at least the particular fact that Mormonism is the only true religion. No argument is of any avail with these people, as they "know" whereof they speak. The whole drift of Mormonism appears to be in the direction of exacting self-consciousness and self-conceit to that sublimated point, at which the intuitions of the mind are mistaken for inspirations. Success in this process of self deception appears to be in direct proportion to depth of ignorance.

Adherence to the Morman faith is apparently a result of partisan feeling, rather than of spiritual emotion. A public discourse from the pulpit on Sunday, about agriculture, or viticulture, or the breeds of domestic animals, answers the purpose quite as well as one based upon a scripture text.

In the "Book of Mormons" published in the year 1832, the doctrine of monogamy was enjoined. But Joe Smith pretended that in the year 1843, the Lord appeared to him in a special manner, and declared to him his holy doctrine of

polygamy, enjoining the belief in, and practice of it, as essential to the highest celestial exaltation. But " Joe " was more astute than the Lord by whom he pretended to be guided. Living in a state and country in which polygamy was a crime before the law, he discreetly kept the Lord's injunction to himself, and it was not until the year 1853—six years after the Mormons had located themselves in the Salt Lake Valley, that under the dictation of the autocrat, Brigham Young, the command of the Lord regarding the establishment of polygamy or celestial marriage was openly proclaimed. It appears to be a well established fact in the history of Mormonism that the adoption of polygamy into the Mormon creed was a mere matter of expediency to cover up crime. Separating themselves as they did from external society, they lost the influences of its moral restraints, and fell into licentiousness. At least such was the case with Joe Smith, and the priests, bishops and apostles who acquired an absolute control over the minds and consciences of the female portion of their followers. The lecherous practices of these men were finally covered up by a " thus saith the Lord." The doctrine of polygamy seems however to have served the practical purpose of legitimatizing in the minds of the Mormons, practices which otherwise would have involved that moral degradation which is the inevitable result of prostitution. Joe Smith never dared to proclaim this doctrine openly, and it was not "given to the people" until five years after they had become practically a law unto themselves beyond the eastern ranges of the Rocky Mountains. Even then its enunciation caused serious murmurings, and some defections among the Mormon host.

The period of the birth of Mormonism was marvelously prolific of new religous and startling theological tenets, both in this country and in Europe. Joseph Smith, by virtue of his genius and force of character, and it may be added also, by virtue of his lack of moral sensibilities became the acknowledged leader of the new movement. He soon found, that it was possible to win men to his new faith, to bind them in the thralldom of a religious fanaticism, and to lead them to segregate themselves from the rest of mankind in all their social relations and political actions.

The "saints" first located, as a community, at Kirtland, Ohio, in the month of March 1831, from which place they were driven in the year 1838 on account of the disloyal and unscrupulous manner in which they participated in political affairs. It seemed to be a propensity incident to the nature of their organization to trade with both the political parties of the country. Their votes were always cast solid at the dictation of the "prophet", and with the single object in view of gaining some special privilege or exemption in favor of the Mormon community. In all their social, religious and political interests these incorrigible fanatics appeared to be determined to know nothing else save Mormonism.

In the year 1831 they also established a community in Jackson County, Missouri. Here their social and political practices were the same as in Ohio, for which cause they were in the course of a few years expelled from the State. The opposition to them in Missouri took the form of a popular uprising and was manifested in acts of violence. Smith next located his people at Nauvoo, Illinois. At this point a city was built, and a temple costing over $100,000 was erected. About 60,000 saints were here gathered. They came from all parts of the globe.

The mania for political power now took entire possession of the "prophet" and turned his head. By corrupt political maneuvering through his power to cast the solid Mormon vote he secured a charter for Nauvoo, which was discreditable to the State of Illinois. It virtually exempted the Mormons from some of the fundamental restraints of municipal law. Under this charter, Smith's functions were as numerous and as incongruous as those of Pooh-Bah in the Mikado, and were executed with about as little regard for truth and decency. He was President, Prophet, Seer and Revelator of the Church, Mayor of the City, Chief Justice, Lieutenant-General of the Nauvoo Legion, Register of Deeds and licensed tavern keeper. Not satisfied with these honors, in 1840 he had himself nominated by the Mormons for President of the United States, and some 350 elders were sent out "to preach and electioneer for him from Maine to Louisiana." Elated by his success, but perhaps more by his notoriety, he trampled upon some of the ordinary re-

straints of law and order. Nauvoo became a "City of Refuge" for house-thieves, cut-throats and outlaws of every description. Smith was at last arrested and imprisoned for the offence of destroying a press which had denounced him. A few days afterwards, July 27th. 1844, an infuriated mob broke into the jail and the prophet's body was riddled with bullets.

Smith was succeeded by Brigham Young, his equal in courage and audacity, and in devotion to the aims and purposes of Mormonism. The two men also strikingly resembled each other in their moral characteristics. Smith however had a more refined ambition. He was transcendental and cherished the dream of projecting his ideas and influence down the centuries. Young, on the other hand was a coarse, brutal man—of the earth, earthy. At times he gave free vent to his passions in the pulpit and raved like a madman. In his sermons, he sent his enemies "to hell across lots," and "circumcised them across their throats." His chief ambition was to inspire his followers with a superstitious dread of his power, and to rule them by the force of his indomitable will. In this he succeded marvelously. He was avaricious and amassed great wealth. In the pursuit of his political aims, he was fierce and autocratic.

THE MORMONS IN UTAH.

Soon after the death of Joe Smith it became evident to Brigham Young that the Mormons must leave Illinois. Smith had begun to realize the fact that it was utterly impracticable to attempt to propagate Mormonism under the shadow of Republican institutions, and in contact with Christian influences,—much less to attain unto the realization of the political aims of the Mormon faith, viz., the establishment of a theocracy. But all this soon became clearly apparent to the crafty mind of Brigham Young. Besides the dream of empire took possession of his soul. His eyes were turned toward that part of Northern Mexico which is now embraced in the geographical limits of the United States. At first he thought of locating in California, but the accounts of the Salt Lake Valley by Bonneville, Fremont and other explorers led him to select that as the seat of the future Mormon empire. In the winter of 1845–6, several thousand Mormons crossed the Mississippi River on the ice, and un-

der the lead of Brigham Young moved westward across Iowa to Council Bluffs, on the east side of the Missouri River. During their journey they suffered great hardships. By the fall of 1846 the last Mormon had been driven from Nauvoo. Early in the spring of 1847, a colony of 4,000 departed from Council Bluffs, and on the 24th of July, 1847, they halted at the present site of Salt Lake City. It appeared to Brigham as the promised land of his hopes. Here in a foreign land, surrounded on all sides by the cordilleras of the Rockies, he might rear his imperial power undisturbed. He had little to apprehend from Mexico, for he was more than two thousand miles from the capital of that country. In time he might defy its power and set up an independent government.

There is a trite saying, that in political affairs, it is the unforeseen, which is most likely to occur. So it was with the Mormon empire. The whole scheme was marred by the irony of events. On the 14th of September, 1847, the city of Mexico was taken by General Scott, and by the treaty of Guadalupe–Hidalgo, concluded February 2, 1848, the territory now constituting the states of California and Nevada and the territories of Utah and Arizona, and parts of Colorado, Wyoming and New Mexico was ceded to the United States.

Evidently Congress could not long leave so large a population as that which had gathered in the Salt Lake Valley without some sort of government. This was apparent to the Prophet. A territorial form of government would place him in a condition of inconvenient dependency upon the national government; but in his isolated position, the immunities of statehood would be the next thing to independence. So remote was his location from the advanced line of settlements in the states, that Mormonism might for a century, perhaps, remain undisturbed by contact with the outside world. But no time was to be lost. Unauthorized and of his own volition he set about organizing the "State of Deseret." It was a gigantic scheme. The proposed state was to be 700 miles from east to west and from north to south, comprising about 490,000 sq. miles, or 313,600,000 acres—an area nearly as large as that of all the states situated south of the Potomac and Ohio Rivers and east of the Mississippi River. It embraced the present territories of Utah and Arizona, the

state of Nevada and considerable portion of California, Oregon, Idaho, Wyoming and Colorado. On the 21st of July, 1849, the legislature of Deseret convened, and declared that the constitution had been adopted, that Brigham Young, the Head of the Church had been elected Governor, and Heber C. Kimball, an Apostle of the Church had been elected Lieutenant Governor. Senators and a member of Congress were also elected. The impudence of the whole proceeding is perhaps unparalleled in political history. No census of the population had been taken, and the formalities usually attending elections had been dispensed with, in the organization of the proposed state. Had Deseret been admitted as a state of the Union, the United States would been confronted not only by polygamy, a foul blot upon civilization, but by a state dominated by an autocratic hierarchy, whose cardinal principle it is that the so-called "Kingdom of God on Earth," *i. e.* the Mormon Chruch–State is the only legitmate government on earth, and that all other states and nations must eventually acknowledge its sway. The expurgation of this incubus upon the nation would undoubtedly have involved a civil war.

The constitution of Deseret and accompanying memorial were submitted to the Senate and House of Representatives, on the 27th of December, 1849. Happily Congress hesitated. The outrages commited by the Mormons and their general disloyalty in Ohio, Missouri and Illinois were then well known throughout the country. Mormon agents in Washington pleaded and protested in vain. Finally by the Act of Sept. 9, 1850, the present Territory of Utah was created. This was a serious repulse. Nevertheless Brigham clung to the delusive hope of a State government, and for years went through the farce of adjourning the territorial government of Utah, and re-convening it as the "State of Deseret," and as such enacting laws. As the State of Deseret, the Mormons coined money, stamped "Holiness to the Lord" which was worth only about 85 per cent. of its face value, and in other matters deported themselves more as an independent nation, than as a dependency of the United States. Again, in the year 1856, Brigham Young transmitted his Memorial and Constitution to Congress, but no member could be induced to submit it. The attempt was made for

the third time, in 1862. The geographical limits of the proposed state, were now reduced by way of compromise, nearly to the present dimenions of the territory of Utah. But the Mormon Rebellion of 1857 and the Mountain Meadow Massacre of the same year were fresh in the memory of the country, so the Constitution of the State of Deseret was forever entombed among the archives of the capitol.

Through some singular failure to comprehend the genius of Mormonism, and the animus of its rulers, due probably to false representations, and pathetic appeals of Mormon agents at Washington, as a sort of compromise measure for the refusal to admit Deseret into the Union, President Fillmore appointed Brigham Young, Governor of Utah. His commission was dated Sept. 28, 1850, and he remained in office until about the middle of April, 1858, when he was relieved by force of arms.

Foiled in his attempt to establish a Church–State, Young's dogged will led him to use his power as Governor ,and his control of the territorial legislature and of the courts for all it was worth. The territorial government was at once placed under the practical domination of the Mormon Church and this relationship exists to-day, with certain modifications which have been forced upon the Mormon authorities by the national government. This practical union of Church and State in Utah, has been the root of all our Mormon troubles. From the time Joe Smith issued his Book of Mormon until the present hour, Mormonism in its political and religious pretensions has never moved backward.

During Brigham Young's term of office the legislature of Utah was composed exclusively of Mormons. He dictated the nomination and election of its members. The character of the territorial laws enacted during this period, clearly illustrates the spirit and purposes of Mormonism. The Act of Feb. 18, 1852, virtually abolished the legal profession by prohibiting any lawyer from recovering on any contract for services, or any person to appear as an attorney in any court. The refusal of any attorney to disclose the confidential communications of his client subjected him to fine and imprisonment. By the Act of Jan. 14, 1854, no law-book except the statutes of Utah and of the United States, *when applicable* was permitted to be

read in any court by an attorney, and the citation of a decision of the Supreme Court of the United States, or a quotation from the Bible, in the trial of any cause, subjected a lawyer to fine and imprisonment. All this was enacted, in order that justice might be administered by revelation, and by the inspired wisdom of the priesthood.

By the Act of March 6, 1852,[sec. 106] a blow was struck at the medical profession. The use of the most important remedies known to science, including all anæsthetics was prohibited for the reason that the gift of healing by the laying on of hands, was a power exercised by the priesthood. By the Acts of Jan. 21, 1853, and of Jan. 1855, the courts were so organized as to become " the organs of church oppression and the ministers of its vengeance ".

These facts serve as illustrations of the clearly defined purpose of placing the territorial government of Utah under the domination of the Mormon hierarchy, a policy which has been steadily pursued until the present hour.

I shall hereafter refer you to other acts of the Mormon legislature, not only nullifying laws of Congress, but which go in the face of the first amendment to the Constitution of the United States which forbids the passage of any law by Congress respecting an establishment of religion or prohibiting the free exercise thereof. That which the national government cannot do, this territorial dependency has actually done upon the authority of the supposititious revelation to Joe Smith.

THE MORMON REBELLION.

The first attempt to set the wheels of the territorial government of state in motion, clearly illustrated a fact which the whole course of subsequent events has developed, viz., that there are no points of agreement as between Mormonism and a republican form of government upon which a compromise can be based. Three out of the seven federal officers appointed by President Fillmore were non-Mormons, viz., the Chief Justice and the Associate Justice of the United States District Court for the Territory of Utah, and the Secretary of the Territory. The latter was disbursing officer.

The appointment of " outsiders " to administer justice in Utah clashed with a cardinal principle of the Mormon faith

and practice. Brigham Young was the "Prophet of the Lord". He spake "by the power of the Almighty". According to Mormon doctrine justice was to be dispensed among the saints by revelation, and through the inspired wisdom of the priesthood. To allow an uninspired "Gentile"—one not belonging to the "Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints"—to dispense justice would be running a saw cut right through the Mormon fabric. The Prophet, himself, had usually adjudicated in all important matters. To surrender this function would diminish his importance in the eyes of his people. It would tarnish the prestige of his sacerdotal character, and be an affront to his *amour propre*. His pride could not be thus humbled. Accordingly when Chief Justice Brandebury, and Associate Justice Brocchus arrived in Salt Lake City in June, 1851, Governor Young not only treated them with sovereign contempt, but refused them such co-operation as was absolutely necessary in order that they might exercise their judicial functions. The Mormon autocrat intimated to them that they might remain in Utah and draw their salaries, while he and his subordinates of the hierarchy administered justice, but they indignantly refused to listen to this degrading proposition. Accordingly, as honorable men, they retired, and upon their return to Washington reported the facts in the case to the President of the United States. This report, which is a very able one, you will find in H. R. Ex. Doc. 1st Sess. 32 Cong., Vol 5., P. 7.

The following extract from the report of the judges is clearly descriptive of the genius of Mormonism:

> "We found on our arrival that almost the entire population consisted of a people called Mormons; and the Mormon Church overshadowing and controlling the opinions, the actions, the property and even the lives of its members; usurping and exacting the functions of legislation and the judicial business of the Territory; organizing and commanding the military, disposing of the public lands upon its own terms, coining money stamped "Holiness to the Lord," and forcing its circulation at a standard fifteen or twenty per cent. above its real value; openly sanctioning and defending the practice of polygamy, or a plurality of wives; exacting the tenth part of everything from its members, penetrating and supervising the social and business circles, and inculcating and requiring as an article of religious faith, implicit obedience to the counsels of the Church, as paramount to all the obligation of morality, society, allegiance and of law."

This description of Mormonism, in 1851, is its portraiture to-day, with only such modifications as have been enforced up-

on it by the National Government. The judges also said in their report:

"The Governor had been accustomed, as many of the leading men informed us, to enter the legislative hall under the provisional state government, and dictate what laws should or should not be passed, and to enter the court and jury rooms to indicate what verdicts should be rendered; and he had given us ample evidence that he was equally omnipotent and influential with the Mormon people under the territorial government."

They also stated in their report that "at public meetings the national government and its officers were denounced in language so vulgar and obscene, that decency would blush to hear it."

On the occasion of the arrival of the Mormons in Utah July 24, 1851, Brigham Young said in a public address: "Zachary Taylor is dead and in hell, and I am glad of it, and I predict in the name of Jesus Christ, by the power of the priesthood that's upon me, that any President of the United States who lifts his finger against this people will die an untimely death, and go to hell." Governor Young also declared publicly, and in the presence of the judges "that he had ruled that people for years and could rule them again; that the United States judges might remain in the territory and draw their salaries, but they should never try a cause, if he could prevent it."

On another occasion Brigham Young declared that he himself "was a greater man than George Washington, and that he knew more than George Washington ever did." At this meeting Judge Brocchus spoke to the people, but an uproar arose, and he was afterwards told by Brigham, that if he had, on that occasion, crooked his finger he (Judge Brocchus) and his colleague would have been torn in pieces.

Finding themselves completely environed by a power hostile to the federal government and without an officer to summon a jury, or execute a warrant, subpœna or any kind of process," as before stated they retired from the Territory.

The newly appointed Secretary of the Territory took with him to Utah $24,000 to pay the contingent expenses of the legislature "upon proper vouchers". Brigham Young at first attempted to "borrow" a part of this money, but in vain. Next the Mormon legislature tried to compel him to hand it all over

to the Governor, but by a skillful maneuver the secretary, confident that they intended to capture it, shipped the whole sum across the plains 1,000 miles to St. Louis, and there deposited it to the credit of the United States.

It is impossible here fully to describe all the usurpations of governmental authority by the Mormon hierarchy from 1851 to 1857, the year of the Mormon Rebellion. That contumacious power remained insolent and defiant. Meanwhile the expectant policy of gentle means prevailed with the government at Washington.

For several years Brigham Young was both Governor and Superintendent of Indian affairs in Utah. But evidence was adduced by army officers and others, clearly showing that he was using his influence to excite the Indians against emigrants, who during that period, were moving in large numbers aeross the Continent to California. Accordingly Brigham was removed from the latter office. A short time before his removal the Commissioner of Indian affairs charged him with the above mentioned offence, to which charge he replied in an evasive and insulting manner. See H. R. Ex. Doc. lst Sess. 35 Cong. Vol. 10.

In consequence of the persistent refusal of the Mormon hierarchy to allow federal officers to execute their functions in Utah and the overwhelming evidence of the fact that the powers of government had there been absolutely usurped by the Mormon Church, President Buchanan decided to remove Brigham Young from office as Governor. Accordingly, on the 11th of July, 1857, Alfred Cumming was appointed in his stead. Governor Cumming started for his post in September following, with a military escort, it having been decided to establish a Military Department of Utah. Hearing of his removal, Brigham Young declared that the new Governor should not administer the office, and sent defiance to the administration at Washington. The military force was thereupon increased, and was placed under the command of Col. Albert Sidney Johnson.

The outrageous assumption of the Mormon power and its attitude towards the United States is thus described by the Secretary of War, Mr. Floyd, in his annual report dated Dec. 5, 1857, and by President Buchanan in his Message to Congress submitted Dec. 8, 1857.

Said Secretary Floyd:—"From the first hour they fixed themselves in that remote and almost inaccessible region of our territory, from which they are now sending defiance to the sovereign power, their whole plan has been to prepare for a successful secession from the authority of the United States, and a permanent establishment of their own."

President Buchanan said :— "As Chief Magistrate I was bound to restore the supremacy of the Constitution and laws within its limits. In order to effect this purpose, I appointed a new governor and other federal officers for Utah, and sent with them a military force for their protection, and to aid as a *posse comitatus*, in case of need, in the execution of the laws".

It is an interesting fact of history which must be remembered to the credit of President Buchanan that he sent an army into Utah to put down the attempt at secession, spoken of by Secretary Floyd; and it is pleasant also to remember that Secretary Floyd spoke of the United States government as "the sovereign power" in this country.

Both President Buchanan and Secretary Floyd appeared at that time to have a clear conception of the fact that Mormonism in Utah was both in principle and in practice a disloyal element, and that it had actually usurped all governmental functions in that Territory. The practical defect of legislation in regard to Mormonism during the last ten years has been that it has been directed solely to the cure of the evil of polygamy, and that it has failed to take cognizance of the domination of the Mormon Church over governmental affairs, which as before observed is by far *the greater evil in Utah.*

President Buchanan further said in his message to Congress of Dec. 8, 1857, "Whilst Governor Young has been both Governor and Superintendent of Indian affairs * * * * he has been at the same time head of the Church called the "Latter Day Saints," and professes to govern its members and dispose of their property by direct inspiration and authority from the Almighty. His power has been therefore absolute over the Church and State". And again "all the officers of the United States, judicial and executive with the exception of two Indian agents, have found it necessary for their personal safety to withdraw from the territory, and there no

longer remains any government in Utah, but the despotism of Brigham Young."

The object of the administration in sending a military force to Utah was not only to install Governor Cumming in office and to protect him in the exercise of his functions, but to establish there a Military Department charged with the duty of protecting immigrants to California, both against Indians and against the Mormons, and to aid in the enforcement of the decrees of the federal courts.

It was hoped even to the last, that a collision with the Mormons might be averted. Accordingly an officer of the army, Capt. Stewart Van Vliet of the Quartermaster's Department, whom Secretary Floyd mentions in his report for 1857 as "an active and discreet officer," was sent ahead with a small force to hold a conference with the Mormon dictator. The mission was, at the time, regarded as one of peril. Leaving his military escort at Ham's Fork in Wyoming, Capt. Van Vliet proceeded with a single attendant, a servant, to Salt Lake City.

He explained to Brigham Young that the intention of the government in sending a military force into the territory was pacific; that it was merely desired to establish a military department in Utah as had been done in Kansas and in Florida.

He also informed Governor Young "that the troops could only be called upon to interfere when the authority of the government was set at defiance, and only then as a *posse comitatus*, on the requisition of the Governor".

It is one of the astounding facts in the history of Mormonism that Govenor Murray, the present Governor of Utah, felt called upon in his last annual report, dated Oct. 17, 1885, to ask the President of the United States to "make the military available in the execution of process out of the courts or for the preservation of life," and that this request was made for the same reason that an army was sent to Utah in 1857, viz., on account of the Mormon usurpation of the powers of government in that territory.

Capt. Van Vliet was also instructed to purchase provisions for the army. Brigham Young however informed him that "*the Mormons had determined to oppose all interference of the Government in the affairs of their Territory*". He declared that

should Governor Cumming enter the Territory he should send him back, and flatly refused to allow the United States Government to purchase any supplies for the Army in Utah. Capt. Van Vliet, in a letter addressed to the Secretary of War upon his return to Washington, stated that he heard John Taylor—at the present time the Head of the Mormon Church—say, in a discourse to an audience of 4,000, "that none of the rulers of the earth were entitled to their position, unless appointed to it by the Lord, and that the Almighty had appointed a man to rule over his Saints, and that man was Brigham Young, and that they would have no one else to rule over them".

While Capt. Van Vliet was in Salt Lake City the horrible Mountain Meadow Massacre was perpetrated under the leadership of John D. Lee, an elder of the Mormon Church.

During his stay in Utah, Capt. Van Vliet was shadowed by the Danites, a band of desperate men employed to do the bloody work of Brigham Young among apostates and offensive Gentiles, and he was escorted out of the territory by a detachment from that organization. The gallant young Capt. Van Vliet of 1857, is now, and has been for many years, General Van Vliet, an honored citizen of Washington.

The day after the departure of Capt. Van Vleit from Salt Lake City, Brigham Young issued a proclamation forbidding all armed forces of every description from coming into the Territory "under any pretense whatever," and ordering "all the forces in the Territory to hold themselves in readiness to march at a moment's notice." He also declared Utah to be under martial law. On the 30th of Sept., 1857, Lieut.-General Daniel N. Wells, commanding the "Nauvoo Legion" at Fort Bridger, forwarded to the officer in command of the United States forces a copy of Brigham Young's proclamation together with a letter, directing him "to retire forthwith from the Territory by the same route he entered."

The commander of the Mormon army at once began active military operations. Forts Bridger and Supply were burned in order to deprive the United States army of shelter. On the 4th of October the Mormons captured and burned on Green River, three of Gen. Johnston's supply trains, loaded with provisions and tents, and carried away several hundred horses

and cattle. They also burned the grass in front and on the flanks of his army, blockaded the roads, and destroyed the fords of the river, and endeavored, by night attack, to keep the army from sleeping. (See President Buchanan's Message of Dec. 6th, 1858.)

General Johnston was obliged to reduce his rations and to go at once into winter quarters, at Camp Scott, on Green River. He also asked for re-enforcements, which were supplied by Congress at its next Session.

On the 10th of October, Brigham Young addressed another letter to the Commander of the United States forces, full of threats and drivelling nonsense. Among other things he said: "The Zion of the Lord is here, and wicked men and devils cannot destroy it." "The government should * * let us alone." "With us it is the kingdom of God or nothing." These treasonable utterances exposed the whole fact and the character of the Mormon Usurpation.

On the 17th of March, 1858, the Mormon Legislature unaminously passed an impudent, defiant and vulgar memorial to the President and Congress. In this document they sneered at civilization, and at the policy pursued toward them by the administration, denounced the murder of Joseph Smith, demanded their constitutional rights, maligned the federal officers sent to Utah, asked for a few hundred thousand dollars "for suppressing Indian hostilities," and in deprecatory terms pleaded for the admission of Deseret into the Union as a State. One sentence of this remarkable State paper may here be presented:—"Please to let us know what you want of us, before you prepare your halters to hang or apply the knife to cut out 'the loathsome and disgusting ulcer.'" This defiant and ludicrous document may be found in volume 3 of Miscellaneous Documents, 1st Session, 35th Congress.

But within thirty days after this deliverance was transmitted to Congress, the courage oozed out of the entire Mormon power. The Prophet, himself, was unable to reassure his people, for he also had suffered a collapse. News had reached Utah, that Congress had provided ample re-enforcements for General Johnston's army. Evidently, resistance would be in vain. Brigham therefore decided to succumb.

About the middle of April Governor Cumming rode into Salt Lake City with a military escort and took the oath of office. He was received by the late autocrat with becoming acts of respect. A few weeks later the United States army filed down Echo Canon into the land of the Saints, and General Johnston was also received by the Prophet, graciously and even obsequiously.

President Buchanan, in his annual message of Dec. 1858, expressed the opinion that a less decisive policy would have involved a long, bloody and expensive war.

In so far as can be seen, the only practical good result of allowing Brigham Young to hold the office of Governor of Utah for nearly eight years, was to demonstrate to the country what the hierarchy would do, when "let alone."

Although the Mormon power had been subjugated, it had not lost its wits. The time for warlike resistance had passed, but the time for the policy of chicanery, deception and false pretense had come, and this policy has been successfully pursued up to the present day.

The immediate sequel of the Mormon rebellion presented an amusing feature, as you will see by reference to Senate Ex. Doc. No. 67., 35th Cong., 18th Sess. On May 10, only about two weeks after his arrival in Salt Lake City, Governor Cumming addressed to the Secretary-of-State at Washington, a letter giving a decidedly roseate view of the situation of affairs in that Territory. His description indicates that he had been greatly flattered by the illumination in his honor, bonfires having been kindled by the "Nauvoo Legion" from the base to the summit of the walls of Echo Canon, disclosing to his enraptured view, the snow-clad peaks of the mountains on the opposite side, and the serried ranks of the Mormon host. He was also profoundly impressed by being greeted as "The Governor of Utah;" by the formal reception accorded him by the Mayor of Salt Lake City, who with other municipal officers came out to meet him, "the Mayor occupying a seat in my carriage," and by the "call of ceremony" by Ex-Governor Brigham Young, "as soon as I was sufficiently relieved from the fatigue of my mountain journey to receive company." He also states in a postscript, with apparent delectation, that "at all points" he

was "received with a military salute." All these matters are related in a manner indicating that he was keenly sensitive not only to the honors of his position, but also to the deference shown him by the Mormons in his official character.

Nevertheless he was constrained "with great regret" to mingle with his congratulations, the announcement of facts, which in his view "might occasion grave concern." Soon after his arrival, he addressed a meeting of "between three and four thousand who were assembled for the purpose of religious worship." He says "the most profound silence was observed when I appeared." "President Young introduced me *by name* as the Governor of Utah." Under the inspiration of this compliment which seems to have turned his head, he says. "I addressed the audience from *the stand.*" I informed them that I had come among them to vindicate the national sovereignty," * * * * "that I had taken an oath to exact an unconditional submission on their part to the dictation of the law," and "I touched [as I thought best] boldly upon all the leading questions of the hour." This vain and weak man, appears not to have had the sense to know that in order to win the repect of the conquered, the conqueror should be careful not to exhibit by word or manner, a consciousness of his own power. Besides it was exceedingly indiscreet for him in a public speech to attempt to argue with a heterogeneous mass of people about matters inherent in Mormonism which had led to the whole difficulty. But according to his account, he did this very thing, in a disgusting manner, and in their "Tabernacle" on Sunday, where they had assembled "for the purpose of public worship." It is surprising that upon receipt of his report at Washington, he was not summarily removed from office.

The result of this ridiculous speech, was, according to his own account, about what might have been expected. He goes on to state that after he had taken his seat "several powerful speakers" arose and harangued the people on the oppressions they had suffered from the government. The result of which was that "the congregation became greatly excited,"—"exhibiting more frenzy than I had expected"—"the wildest uproar ensued;" and it is probably from the account given by His Excellency, that but for the influence of Brigham Young, he might

then and there, have ended both his gubernatorial and earthly career.

Governor Cumming was also constrained to report that many of the people, including the inhabitants of Salt Lake City, were in a wild and demoralized manner moving southward with their household goods, large numbers of them without hats or shoes, and driving their flocks they knew not where. Brigham Young had publicly suggested a hegira to Sonora. These poor ignorant creatures appeared to have been deluded into the belief that the Army of the United States would destroy them, when it entered the Salt Lake Valley, and it was proposed therefore by many to set fire to their houses as soon as the troops crossed the mountains. The new Governor says, "I shall follow these people, and endevor to rally them;" but there is no evidence going to show that he ever undertook this hazardous enterprise.

Notwithstanding all these evident signs of demoralization and discontent this bumptious Executive adds: "The President and American people will learn with gratification, the auspicious issue of our difficulties here;" and to cap the climax, he discloses the fact that he had been fooled into the belief that the Mormons regarded the Constitution of the United States "as the work of inspired men." Brigham Young had taken the measure of his man and "fixed him."

A man of sound judgment and practical common sense, in Governor Cumming's place, might perhaps have saved the country a world of trouble in the future. He was evidently no fit representative of the government to cope with the wily and astute Head of the Mormon Church, whose success in dealing with such an incompetent, merely served to whet the Mormon appetite for the long struggle of chicanery, and corruption, and flattery and bull-dozing which has ever since been practiced upon officers of the national government in Utah, as circumstances have appeared to warrant.

President Buchanan, in transmittiug Governor Cumming's report to Congress, said: "From this there is reason to believe that our difficulties with the Territory of Utah have terminated, and the reign of the Constitution and the laws has been restored." But the sequel shows that this was a great mistake.

From that moment onward to the present hour, Mormonism has not abated one jot or one tittle of its pretensions as a political organization, having direct authority from the Almighty. The difficulty with the national administration and with Congress then, as in all these subsequent years, has been that they have been able to see in Mormonism only the evil of polygamy, and that they have regarded all political troubles there, as being merely incident to that evil, and to the personal ambition of ecclesiastics who have become political leaders. The fact, however, is, and events have so proved it, that the political evil is organic in the Mormon institution; or to adopt the Mormon form of expression regarding polygamy, it is "a portion of their religious faith."

Since 1857 Mormonism has remained unchanged in its aims and purposes, although, as before intimated, its methods have been modified by the moral restraints imposed by the presence of a military force.

MORMONISM IN UTAH SINCE 1858.

The recognized inefficiency and weakness of the chief representative of the national government in Utah, prompted Brigham to re-assert the aforetime prerogative of the Mormon Church in the political affairs of that Territory. In the Spring of 1859, only one year after the triumphal entry of Governor Cumming into Salt Lake City, Judge Cradlebaugh attempted to bring to punishment the perpetrators of numerous and most atrocious crimes against emigrants to California, and Gentiles in Utah; but no Grand Jury could be found which would take action on such cases. At last, realizing that the voice of justice had been silenced by the Mormon Church, he adjourned the Court, entering upon its docket this testimony: "The whole community present a united and organized opposition to the administration of justice."

Governor Dawson, appointed Oct. 3, 1861, was driven from the Territory, and the two judges resigned.

On the 31st of March, 1862, Stephen S. Harding was appointed Governor, but after several ineffectual attempts to secure any sort of respect for the national authority, was transferred to another Territory. Judges Waite and Drake, finding their military support to be inadequate, also withdrew, declar-

ing that "the laws are nugatory, and the organic act entirely inoperative."

Means were also found to cause other federal officers to resign or to abate their efforts to enforce the laws. The whole course of events in Utah from 1858 to 1886, has been scandalous in the extreme, and it must be confessed that the sufferance of such treasonable conduct is discreditable to the government and people of the United States. Neither one of the two great political parties of the country can cast the blame of such neglect upon the other.

It would appear from a perusal of the history of Utah as though the Mormon hierarchy had from the beginning adopted as its rule of civil polity, a favorite French maxim in war, "*L'audace, encore l'audace, toujours l'audace.*"

The first effectual attempt to restrain the Mormon power, occurred in the year 1870, when Governor Shaffer forbade the annual muster of the Nauvoo Legion, a body of militia numbering about thirteen thousand men, and maintained independently of the Federal authority. The Mormon "Lieutenant-General" made a show of fight, but finally yielded, in view of the fact that the Governor had declared he would, if necessary, call to his assistance the troops stationed at Fort Douglas. Since that time the Mormon Church has been without an army; but it still controls the appointment and election of the entire police and constabulary of Utah and holds those forces subject to its behest.

That the Mormon hierarchy has been allowed such immunity has arisen, not from any love for, or toleration of, its principles on the part of the people and the government of the United States, but simply from the fact that during almost the whole of the period from 1862 to 1882 the attention of the country was engrossed by the political strife engendered by the discussion of the slavery question, by the great war, the turbulence incidental to reconstruction, and the important questions of national policy which have commanded so large a share of public attention. That Mormonism was thus practically let alone, was merely incidental to its comparative small importance, and its measurable isolation in the heart of the Rocky Mountains. It escaped censure only as it escaped observation.

While the war was raging between the North and the South, the "Saints" in Utah were praying and anxiously hoping for the mutual destruction of the two sections, in order that the triumph of "The Kingdom of God on Earth" might thereby be hastened.

As before stated, the third and last formal attempt to create the State of Deseret was made by Memorial submitted to Congress April 17, 1862; but even at that exciting time of civil war the audacious manner in which polygamy was preached and practiced in Utah, engaged the attention of Congress sufficiently to lead to the passage of the Act of July 1, 1862, for the suppression of that crime. That statute has however not only been unheeded, but it has been set at defiance, and polygamy has had free course until within the last two years, when a few brave and resolute officers of the government have, in the face of the most persistent, united and bitter opposition on the part of the Mormon hierarchy, brought the guilty to punishment, and for the first time since 1858 given this rebellious element to understand that the supremacy of the laws of the country shall be maintained, even in far-off Utah.

Since the year 1858, the Mormon hierarchy has, in so far as possible, avoided litigation in the United States Court. It has insulted and maligned every officer of the United States who has attempted to restrain it in its violations of the laws of the country, and in its efforts to subordinate the Territorial Government to the Mormon church, while outrages of the most atrocious character have been perpetrated.

On the 10th of May, 1869, the tracks of the Union and Central Pacific Railroads were joined at a point near Ogden, Utah. Other railroads have since entered and crossed the Territory. Thus Mormonism has been brought out into the open, where it could be observed. The moral influences of a Christian ministry, and of a loyal American press have also been brought to bear upon it, and with telling effect.

MORMON AUDACITY.—THE MEMORIAL OF 1867.

Perhaps Mormonism never rose to a greater height of audacity, than in the year 1867, when the legislative assembly of Utah, a body absolutely under the control of the Mormon hierarchy, unaminously adopted a memorial asking

Congress to repeal the act of July 1st, 1862, "to prevent the practice of polygamy in the Territories of the United States." This memorial makes open declaration of the wild assumptions upon which rest the political and religious dogmas of the Mormon Church. It also serves to illustrate what has hereinbefore been said—*that there are no points of agreement as between Mormonism and a Republican form of government upon which a compromise can be based.*

The prayer for the repeal of the Act of July 1st, 1862, for the suppression of polygamy, begins thus:—"Whereas, upwards of fourteen years ago The Church of Jesus Christ, of Latter Day Saints did publicly avow and proclaim its belief in the doctrine of a plurality of wives, as being of divine origin; and whereas, this doctrine has been adopted * * * * as a portion of religious faith; and whereas, great prejudice has been created in the public mind against the people of this territory by the continued misrepresentation to which they have been subject because of the unpopularity of this doctrine of their faith; * * * * and whereas, under the influence of *these prejudices and misrepresentations*, as we believe, Congress in the year eighteen hundred and sixty-two, passed "an Act to prevent and punish the practice of polygamy in the Territories, etc., etc."

The assumption that polygamy in Utah should not be suppressed, on the ground that it is "a portion of the religious faith" of the Mormons, is as repugnant to the people of this country as would be the proposition of any other association of so-called religionists to practice atrocities which have been "portions of the religious faith" of barbarous countries, or to allow them to commit any other crime in the name of religion.

The popular objection to polygamy, throughout the civilized world, is in this memorial, insolently termed "a prejudice, which the people of the Territory have deplored and exerted themselves to the utmost to remove."

Further on, the memorial asserts that this Act is unconstitutional, for the reason that it is in conflict with the first amendment of the Constitution of the United States, which declares that Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion or prohibiting the free exercise thereof." The

absurdity and the downright impudence of this assertion are rendered the more striking, when it is remembered that from the time the Mormons fixed themselves in the Territory of Utah, they have openly and flagitiously enacted laws, not only "respecting an establishment of religion," but actually establishing a religion.

By means of such laws they have exempted their church from some of the fundamental restraints of civil law; They have also set it above the terrritorial laws by granting it privileges and endowing it with functions which belong solely to civil government. Among these acts may be mentioned the ordinance of Feb. 8th, 1851, "Incorporating the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints;" the Act of Jan. 12th, 1856 whereby all matters relating to immigration are confided to the Church, and the Act whereby all escheats were turned over to the Immigration Company, a creature of the Mormon hierarchy. All of these Acts were re-enacted and published in 1876. But this usurpation of governmental powers is not a thing done in a corner, nor is it a thing of the past. When I was in Salt Lake City in November last, I saw the Union of Church and State openly declared and commended in a Mormon Church paper, a copy of which I have.

The declaration of the Mormon legislature of 1867, that the Act of 1862 for the suppression of polygamy is unconstitutional, is of a piece with Mormon presumptiousness regarding the limitations of law and of the National Constitution. In this memorial, as in all other Mormon declarations, the opinions of the Supreme Court of the United States are simply ignored; their views of constitutionality being based upon the revelation to Joe Smith. The insolent Mormon memorial of 1867 wound up with a prayer, that Congress would by an affirmative act, sanction the practice of polygamy in the Territories of the United States. Thus did a band of disloyal fanatics in Utah, utter their voice in the year 1867, as they do now, against a fundamental principle of civilization; against those principles of morality, upon which rests the integrity, peace and security of the family relation; against the original and divine order of society and against Christianity. In so doing, they set themselves up in open defiance of the enlightened conscience of the age, which

has dictated laws against the practice of polygamy and bigamy in every state of the Union. The Mormon memorial of 1867 also declared the Act of 1862 to be an invasion of the people's rights, and *ex post facto*. That act did not, however, provide for the punishment of any offense committed prior to its passage. The meaning attached to the expression, *ex post facto* by the Mormon legislature appears to be that the act in question was passed fourteen years after the doctrine of polygamy had been proclaimed by "The Church of Jesus Christ of the Latter Day Saints."

The memorial of 1867 also goes on to say, "whereas, your memorialists have ever been the firm and loyal supporters of the Constitution of the United States, etc." The absurdity of this assertion is apparent, when it is considered that it was passed by a legislature composed, for the greater part, of Mormon ecclesiastics, all of whom were engaged in the Mormon rebellion of 1857—only ten years before—a rebellion which had its origin in the refusal to allow Federal Judges to perform their functions in Utah, or to allow a Governor of the Territory, appointed by President Buchanan, to supersede Brigham Young in that office. Besides, it is the utterance of a body of men proved to have been privy to, and responsible for, the horrible Mountain Meadow Massacre, for which atrocity a bishop of their church was several years afterwards convicted and executed.

To one conversant with the history and genius of Mormonism, there is, however, nothing phenomenal in all this. The Mormon power has never hesitated to deny facts of history, to plead the "baby act," to appeal to the sympathy of the people of the country, or to profess devotion to "the principles of the Constitution of the United States," whenever it has appeared that by so doing it could secure immunity for its disloyal proceedings, or retain its hold upon political power.

The words "*principles of the Constitution of the United States*" appear always to be employed by the Mormon hierarchy in a Machiavelian sense. While intended to convey the idea abroad that they are loyal to the National Government, the real meaning which they attach to the language of the Constitution is always in harmony with Mormon pretensions. For example,

the Edmund's Act, which has been declared by the Supreme Court of the United States to be constitutional, is openly declared by the Mormon church to be unconstitutional.

From the beginning, until the present time, the Mormon hierarchy, in all its public declarations and appeals to the Government for sympathy and immunity, and in all its protests against the enforcement of Acts of Congress for the suppression of polygamy, and against the acts of the Administrative branch of the Government in curtailment of its usurpations of governmental functions, appears to have been guided by Aaron Burr's definition of sound law—"whatever is boldly asserted and plausibly maintained." You will find the Mormon Memorial of 1867 in H. R. Report No. 267, 39th Cong. 2nd Sess.

THE PETITION OF 22,626 WOMEN OF UTAH.

On the 13th of January, 1876, there was referred to the Committee on the Judiciary of the House of Representatives, a petition signed by 22,626 women of Utah, praying for the repeal of the Act of 1862, and of the Poland Act of 1874, for the suppression of polygamy. Those enactments were boldly declared to be "special and unconstitutional," without any reference whatever to the Supreme Court of the United States, which had decreed otherwise. They also declared that they had adopted the belief in the rightfulness of the practice of polygamy "as a portion of their religious faith, * * * * believing it to be necessary not only in remedying evils and producing good in our present existence, but that without it man cannot hereafter attain to a fullness of exaltation." The petition also embraced the following modest requests: That Utah might be admitted as a State of the Union, and that the inhabitants thereof might "have the right to use for their own benefit, the timber growing on government land in Utah." The thing desired, however, next to the abolition of all laws against polygamy, was "to be relieved from the unjust and law-breaking officials forced upon us by the Government, and that we may have the jurisdiction of our own courts and the selection of our own officers, as we had in the past." In a word, these women asked for just what Brigham Young demanded in September, 1857, when Gen. Albert Sidney Johnston's army was approaching Utah, viz.: "to be let alone." It seems strange that they

did not go a little farther, and ask the United States to set the Mormons apart as a separate and independent nation, and at the same time make an appropriation to defray the expenses of establishing the new government. This petition of the 22,626 women serves to illustrate the remark hereinbefore made, *that Mormonism never moves backward.*

The news which the telegraph brought a few days ago, of a protest against the action of Governor Murray for interposing his absolute veto against bills passed by the Mormon Legislature, now in session, the tendency of which bills, if they had become laws, would have been to nullify Acts of Congress for the suppression of polygamy, and for the maintenance of the national authority, also serves to illustrate the dogged obstinacy of the Mormon hierarchy in its usurpations of political powers. These Mormon legislators of to-day appear to have taken about as advanced ground as was taken by the 22,626 Mormon women of 1876.

MORMONISM A CONGLOMERATE.

It has been a favorite and successful trick of the Mormon hierarchy during the last thirty years to inculcate in the minds of the people of this country, and especially among Senators and members of Congress, and officers of the Executive branch of the Government at Washington, the idea that Mormonism is *merely a religion.* Nothing could be further removed from the truth. As it existsto-day, and has existed for many years, Mormonism is essentially a conglomerate of religion, trade and politics. It is the main object of this paper to expose the political aspects of Mormonism. In order, however, that the character and scope of the institution may be the better understood, I shall briefly allude to its commercial aspects. Under the direction of the Church, and of its chief officials, a great mercantile organization, known as "Zion's Co-operative Mercantile Institution," has been established throughout Utah. At Salt Lake City, Ogden and Logan, extensive business houses have been erected, which carry on both a wholesale and a retail trade. Branch establishments also exist in those cities and at various towns throughout the Territory. Besides, there are co-operative Mormon stores throughout the Territory and in Idaho and

Arizona, which bring a large trade to "Zion's Co-operative Mercantile Institution."

The President of the Institution is John Taylor—President, Prophet, Seer and Revelator of the Church, and the leading directors are G. Q. Cannon, who has recently forfeited his bail of $45,000, and Jos. F. Smith, who are associated with John Taylor in the Mormon governmental trinity, known as the First Presidency. The Mormon Church owns, as I am informed, over one-third of the capital stock of this concern, the remainder being held by high Church officials, the most of whom are men of property. The annual sales of Zion's Co-operative Mercantile Institution are, according to Mormon business cards, freely distributed as follows:

At Salt Lake City	$5,000,000
At Ogden	800,000
At Logan	500,000

As the tithing and other receipts of the Church are over $1,000,000 annually, it is apparent that the Mormon "religion" has not only a faith, but also a virile *corpus*.

Over each business house of "Zion's Co-operative Mercantile Institution" are exhibited the familiar letters "Z. C. M. I.," the initials of the organization. It would be quite in harmony with the fitness of things, if over the tithing and other business offices of the Church, there were displayed the letters "Z. C. P. I.," signifying, Zion's Co-operative Political Institution.

To an observer in Utah, Mormonism appears to be, as it is in fact, a conglomerate of religion, trade, and politics, and yet during the last thirty years, by the skillful use of money and by the lying utterances of its political representatives and agents, it has been made to appear in Washington as *merely a religion*.

THE SPREAD OF MORMONISM IN UTAH AND IN ADJOINING STATES AND TERRITORIES.

From the time of the first Mormon settlement in the Salt Lake Valley, it has been a fixed policy of the hierarchy to secure the control of as much land as possible. Agriculture west of the 100th meridian in this country is dependent upon irrigation. The law of riparian rights in force elsewhere does not, and never has obtained in this section, nor indeed in the

States and sections where mining operations, involving the use of large quantities of water, are carried on. In such districts water is as much a commodity as is wood, or iron, or coal. The first settlers who pre-empt the land at points where streams debouch from the mountains into the valleys below, practically secure the control of all the water in the streams. They can direct the course of irrigating canals and ditches, and thus lay under contribution and hold in subserviency all other land owners in their midst. By this means the ownership of a few hundred acres of land may afford the practical control of many thousand acres. The Mormon leaders, observing the strategic advantages of controlling the streams of the great interior, in keeping "Gentile" settlers out, have accordingly located Mormon colonies far and near. In pre-empting lands at the sources of the water supply, they have spread themselves over parts of Idaho, Wyoming, Colorado, Arizona, and Nevada, as well as throughout Utah, and now boastfully claim to be able to subdue this vast area to the control of their Church. Besides, gigantic land frauds have been perpetrated by the Mormon authorities in the past. I am informed by a perfectly reliable correspondent in Utah, that years ago, Brigham Young, the President, Prophet, Seer, and Revelator of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, fraudulently gained possession of an immense tract of land in the following manner: He had a house built on wheels, which he would locate on the four corners of four quarter sections. Four men, employed for the purpose, would then sleep in the house over night, one on each corner, and on the following day go to the land office and swear they were living on the land. After getting their title they would sell it to "The Prophet" for a small consideration. I am told that a government agent discovered last fall that about 37,000 acres of land had thus been stolen. Whether it was or was not all included in Brigham' Young's large estate, I am unable to say.

Wherever the Mormons have planted themselves they have manifested the same unvarying purpose of securing for their Church control in political affairs. In none of the Territories outside of Utah has this been done to so great an extent as in

Already the Mormons have populated and secured full control of the three southeastern counties of Cassia, Oneida and Bear, and have with accustomed Mormon pertinacity made themselves felt for evil in the politics of that Territory. The Governor, in his report for the year 1884, declared that the question of Mormon aggression had grown to such gigantic and monstrous proportions as to overshadow the present condition, and imperil the future prospects of the commonwealth. The language employed by Governor Bunn in this report, may here be presented:

"The question of polygamy has grown to such gigantic and monstrous proportions as to actually overshadow our present and imperil our future as a commonwealth. With Utah on the southern borders of Idaho, crowded with Mormons, the passes through the Owyhee Mountains at hand and inviting immigration, swarms of the faith of filth thronged through the passes, pre-empted the land, founded villages, erected temples of idolatry, and have since lived in practical defiance of all law, except the canons of the Mormon Church and the direct commands of the apostles of lechery. Their numbers are so considerable, their organization so close, and their obedience to the commands of Church so servile, that they are able, by alliance with one of the political parties of the Territory, to thwart justice, warp judgment, and control legislation to the extent of preventing the passage of any laws that would interfere with their fecund and feculent institution. I feel that in the near future this polluting thing must be checked, the barbarous and blasphemous practices and tenets eradicated, uprooted entirely, or the destiny of this great and rich public domain will be periled beyond bloodless redemption. There is a silent but irrepressible conflict going on between the forces of civilization and those of barbarity in this Territory, which will continue until one or the other shall have triumphed."

Governor Bunn added, that "it [Mormonism] insolently threatens to own this broad, rich and fertile Territory, and openly proceeds to make good the threat."

In Idaho, as in Utah and elsewhere, the Mormon leaders have claimed to belong to the Democratic party—a claim the hollowness of which was proved in a recent election in Utah, where a Democrat was nominated for Delegate to Congress as against a Mormon candidate. At this election the Mormons voted solidly for the man of their faith. In Idaho they have merely used the Democratic Party, apparently for the reason that until within the past year it has been in opposition to the party in power. Under other circumstances they would undoubtedly as soon have cast their solid vote with the Republican Party.

Since Governor Bunn wrote his report of Oct. 18, 1884, from which I have quoted, by a spontaneous outburst of public indignation, the Mormon element has been, for the time being, at least, eliminated from the politics of Idaho. By a union between the Republicans and a portion of the Democrats, a law was passed about a year ago, disfranchising all Mormons, and disqualifying them from holding any position or office of honor, trust or profit within the Territory. Being desirous of stating with perfect accuracy the real *status* of this case, on the 24th of January last I addressed a letter of inquiry to Mr. W. C. B. Allen, editor and proprietor of the *Shoshone Journal*. In reply, under date of Feb. 4, he makes the following statement:

"FIRST. It is true that public sentiment is strong in Idaho against the Mormons on account of their political conduct, and because in a commercial, political and social sense, they are a non-assimilative element. Like the Chinese, they are obnoxious morally; and not identified with the welfare of society, or the advancement of the country. To be under their power is like a blight, and when they seek to control the politics of the Territory, every manly attribute rebels against such priestly domination: hence their political action is that which crystalizes public sentiment against them, especially when they array themselves against the laws by preaching and practicing polygamy."

"SECOND. It was by a coalition of the Republicans and the better element of the Democratic party, that the law was passed disfranchising Mormons, and disqualifying them from holding office."

The Chief Justice of the Territory of Idaho has confirmed the constitutionality of the law to which reference has just been made.

MORMONISM IN ARIZONA.

During the past ten years there has been quite an extensive Mormon immigration into Arizona, where polygamy has been practiced as elsewhere. The Governor of the Territory, in his report for 1884, stated that Mormons and Gentiles were arrayed against each other, and that unless the proper legal remedies are enforced, a conflict may ensue, involving the loss of life and destruction of property.

THE MORMON SYSTEM OF IMMIGRATION.

The territorial act of Jan. 12th, 1856,—Brigham Young being then Governor—incorporated the Perpetual Emigration Fund Company, and provided that the general business of the company should be carried on under the direction of the "First Presidency" of the Mormon Church. In his report for 1883, Governor Murray says, "No other system has been by law authorized or permitted in Utah, and this rich corporation continues as part of the 'Church and State' machinery to gather converts from all parts of the world." This Mormon system of immigration constitutes a singularly effective arm of the hierarchy. The Church, in the person of a missionary, goes to the poor and distressed worker in foreign lands, and offers him transportation to Utah, 160 acres of land, and eternal salvation by becoming a citizen of "The Kingdom of God on Earth." The temporal consideration alone exceeds his wildest dream of earthly prosperity, and through the door of self-interest he is easily enmeshed in the toils of the wildest religious fanaticism the world ever saw. On his arrival he sees naught, hears naught of governmental authority save the Mormon Church. So well satisfied is he with his terrestrial acquisition that he cares not to call in question the Mormon assertion as to the celestial. The fact that he procures his land from the United States is carefully hidden from him, and the only information which he receives from his ecclesiastical superiors in regard to the national power, is that it is a tyranny overshadowing the Saints, the enemy of God and of the Church, and therefore his enemy. This idea was very clearly expressed to me, and I believe in all sincerity, by the poor old Scotchman who stands warder at the Temple gate:—"I thought, when I came to this country, I was coming to a land of freedom, but I find I came to a land of tyranny and oppression." The elective franchise in the hands of such men is simply an instrument directed against the national authority in Utah.

RECENT MORMON OUTRAGES AND UTTERANCES IN UTAH.

I come now to the record of recent events illustrative of the character and genius of Mormonism, some of which transpired while I was in the Territory. On the 4th of July, 1885, the United States flag was, in derision, placed at 'half-mast' on all

the Mormon Church, business, and Governmental buildings, on account of the enforcement of the Edmunds Act for the suppression of the crime of polygamy. This insult to the flag was resented by Americans, who had fought in the ranks, both of the Union and Confederate armies, and but for the interposition of the Governor and other men of influence, a bloody encounter would probably have ensued.

A few weeks later glass hand-grenades, filled with the foulest human excrement, were at night hurled through the windows of Deputy Marshals and other Federal officers engaged in the prosecution of Mormon polygamists. Not long afterwards a Deputy Marshal was assulted on the street, and a few weeks later the same person was waylaid at night in a narrow street beside a Mormon house of Assembly, and a dastardly attempt was there made to murder him. He however succeeded in shooting one of his assailants, an officer of the Mormon Tithing House, and the others fled. Although the Mormon papers for weeks denounced this officer of the Government as a murderer, upon his examination the wounded man could not be found when summoned as a witness. About the same time a most diabolical conspiracy was disclosed, the object of which was to blacken the characters of leading Federal officers engaged in the enforcement of the laws of Congress, and thus compel them through fear of exposure, to desist in their efforts, or else to cause their removal from office. For this purpose certain leaders of the Mormon Church entered into contracts with lewd women in San Francisco and Denver, to establish houses of prostitution in Salt Lake City, for the purpose of enticing to those dens of infamy Federal officers, who were there to be arrested by Mormon police lying in wait for them. But this conspiracy utterly failed. It appeared not to have been managed with that adroitness which is always essential to the success of infamous schemes. Two or three minor officers of the Federal Courts were arrested on evidence furnished by these women, but this was followed a few days later by the arrest of the women themselves, who confessed the whole thing; and a certain Brig. Hampton, an Elder in the Mormon Church, has since been convicted of the offence of importing these women into Utah, and sent to prison for one year.

Another Mormon, a *Bishop*, as I am informed, levied upon and himself sold at auction, the furniture of one of the houses mentioned, to satisfy a claim of the Church or of certain of its officials. Reflect for a moment upon the horribleness of this infernal expedient, adopted for the maintenance of political power by an organization calling itself a Church, and naming the name of that Infinitely Pure Being, whose declaration and mandate to his followers is, "My Kingdom is not of this world!"

The last of the outrages which came to my notice was the cutting of the throats of horses belonging to certain Federal officers and their aids, presumably by Mormons.

These Mormon outrages, with certain threats, and signs of revolt led Governor Murray, about the 1st of December last, to make requisition upon the President of the United States, for additional troops, which, as before stated, were speedily sent and have since been encamped at a point in Salt Lake City, which, in case of outbreak, would give them command of the religious, commercial and political offices and buildings of "The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints."

When the outrages just described were at first brought to my attention in Utah, I was filled with a sense of horror and surprise, and it was only after a careful investigation of the whole subject that I could convince myself that the statements made to me were true.

There is an intense feeling of bitterness entertained by the Mormons toward non-Mormons, or loyal citizens, who oppose their political actions. This feeling and the incidents of the struggle which has ensued between the two classes, has led to the popular, and as I think, very appropriate classifications of the population as "Mormons" and "Americans." Falling into this habit of speech in Utah I have adopted it in this paper. The Mormon feeling appears to be most intense against the "American" clergymen. One of these gentlemen stated to me that he had recently heard from a Mormon pulpit, the following declaration: "Among our opponents there is not one pure man or woman." But vituperation, and profane utterance are well known characteristics of the followers of the Mormon Church.

While I was in Salt Lake City I heard from the pulpit of the Tabernacle, this boastful utterance, in attestation of the su-

perior advantages enjoyed by the Mormons over all other people on the earth:—"The Saints have to offer the testimony of Jesus and his Apostles, Joseph Smith, Brigham Young, John Taylor, and all the holy men who ever spake by the power of the Almighty. This was printed the next day in the Mormon official paper, a copy of which I have; also the boastful assertion by a Mormon writer to the effect that elections in Utah are more peaceful than in the States, for the reason that the Saints enjoy the advantages of a "Union of Church and State."

THE CULLOM REPORT OF 1870.

On the 3d of February, 1870, the Hon. Shelby M. Cullom presented a report from the Committee on Territories in regard to the execution of the laws in Utah. This report, which embraced much valuable testimony, and exhibited a clear appreciation of the difficulties in that Territory, was accompanied by a bill which, however, failed to become a law.

PRESIDENT GARFIELD'S REFERENCE IN HIS INAUGURAL ADDRESS TO THE USURPATIONS OF THE MORMON CHURCH.

President Garfield's inaugural address, delivered March 4, 1881, cast a ray of sunlight through the dark cloud of Mormon rule in Utah. It was, to the loyal or non-Mormon population of that Territory, the first hopeful sign that the real status of affairs in Utah was beginning to be understood at Washington. Hopes were entertained that relief from Mormon priestly rule might at last be expected.

For years the Territory had been represented on the floor of Congress by a high dignitary of the Mormon Church, a polygamous Mormon,—an affront to civilization,—who has within a few weeks been arrested in his hiding place for the crime of polygamy, and more recently, as reported by the telegraph, has "jumped his bail"

In referring to the situation of affairs in Utah, President Garfield said:—"It is a reproach to the Government that in the most populous of the Territories, the constitutional guarantee is not enjoyed by the people, and the authority of Congress is set at naught. The Mormon Church not only offends the moral sense of manhood by sanctioning polygamy, but prevents the administration of justice through ordinary instrumentalities of law. * * * * * * * * * * * * * * *

Nor can any ecclesiastical organization be safely permitted to usurp, in the smallest degree, the functions and powers of the national government."

In his early life President Garfield had learned from personal observation of the character, motives and methods of the Mormons in northern Ohio.

I have it upon what I deem reliable information that he intended to make the suppression of the Mormon usurpation a cardinal measure of his administration. But President Garfield was removed, and the policy of directing governmental action only to the suppression of polygamy and of trusting to the natural course of events for the suppression of the usurpation of governmental functions, which is the far greater evil, has since prevailed.

THE EDMUNDS ACT OF MARCH 22, 1882.

You are well aware of the fact that the main features of the so-called Edmunds Act are, more efficient means of suppressing polygamy, the disfranchisement of all persons living in polygamy, and the creation of a "board of five persons" commonly known as "The Utah Commission," whose duties relate only to matters of registration and election, and eligibility to office. The legislature in existence at the time of the enforcement of the Edmunds Act was solidly Mormon, and was composed almost exclusively of polygamists who were also of high rank in the Mormon hierarchy. The gradation of rank and power in the Church had its correspondent in political rank and power, and the legislative and executive branches of the Territorial government, with the exception of the Governor, Federal Judges, Marshal and Prosecuting Attorney, and their aids, was as completely under the control of the Mormon power as in the days of Brigham Young. The first election for members of the Legislature took place in August, 1883. The vote stood 20,508 for the Mormon candidates, against 1,453 for the non-Mormon, or "American" candidates. The "Utah Commission" estimate that the total number of voters disfranchised, male and female, was about 12,000. The Mormon population of the Territory is about 130,000, from which it would appear that about nine per cent. of the total Mormon population was actually living in the polygamous relation. At the election just referred to, only

Mormons were elected, and this Legislature, like the preceding one, was absolutely dominated by the Mormon hierarchy. At the same time, all the elective Territorial officers and the city, county and town officers, including the entire police and constabulary of the Territory, with the exception of two or three mining camps, remained exclusively Mormon; and this state of affairs continues to the present time. Barring the inconvenience which the Mormon hierarchy experiences from a loyal Governor, District and Supreme Court Judges, the Marshal and Prosecuting Attorney, it would be difficult to imagine a more absolute domination of a Church over a Government than exists in Utah to-day.

The Edmunds Act provided that the "board of five persons," known by courtesy as the "Utah Commission," should continue in office only until such time as the Legislature should pass a proper law "conformable to the organic act of said Territory, and not inconsistent with other laws of the United States." In the light of the debate on the Mormon question in Congress, and of the discussion of the subject in the public press, this act was in effect a somewhat solicitous invitation to the Mormon power to pass an Act in aid of the suppression of polygamy, or, to employ the polite phrase of the statute, to pass such an Act "as it shall deem proper, conformable to the provisions of the laws of the United States."

The manner in which this invitation was treated by the Mormon Legislature, strikingly illustrates an assertion hereinbefore made: "*That there are no points of agreement as between Mormonism and a republican form of government upon which a compromise can be based.*"

This solidly Mormon Legislature, elected under the provisions of the Edmunds Act, not only disregarded the invitation thus extended to them, and treated with contempt the recommendations of the Governor and the "Utah Commission," as to the passage of a marriage law, but it actually passed a bill in both Houses, which was in essence and intent a flagitious attempt to nullify the Edmunds Act, and at the same time to bolster up certain old laws, the effect of which was to secure the domination of the Mormon hierarchy over the affairs of the Territory. This bill was disapproved by Governor Murray, who

clearly exposed its disloyal provisions in his veto message. The next Legislature elected, which is now in existence, has a single "Gentile" member. It also has doggedly refused to pass any Act conformable to the Acts of Congress, for the suppression of polygamy, and especially the Edmunds Act. So the "Utah Commission," which was to become *functus officio* upon the adoption of such legislation, remains in existence to-day by virtue of Mormon contumacy.

The present Mormon Legislature has also, by affirmative action, attempted to pass laws, the aim of which is to get Mormons on juries to try polygamy cases, and a bail bill, the object of which was to keep polygamists out of prison pending appeals, in spite of the Federal Judges. Perhaps the most audacious of all the attempts of the present Mormon legislation at nullification consisted in the passage of an Appropriation Bill, providing for retaining in office two usurping Territorial officers, viz.: the Auditor of Public Accounts, and the Treasurer, both of whom were declared by Attorney General Garland, in an opinion rendered June 5, 1885, to be holding office contrary to the provision of the organic Act of the Territory. All these attempts to nullify laws of Congress were suppressed by the absolute veto of the Governor.

The insolence of the Mormon power has recently been exhibited in two resolutions passed by the Legislature, falsely stigmatizing the Governor as an enemy of the Territory for his steadfastness in resisting these latest attempts at usurpation.

The non-Mormon candidate for Delegate to Congress received, in 1882, at the first election held under the supervision of the "Utah Commission," about one-fifth the number of votes cast for the Mormon candidate; but in 1884, the non-Mormon candidate received only a little more than one-tenth the number of votes cast for the Mormon candidate. This does not present a very encouraging sign of political regeneration in Utah.

The failure to enforce the laws passed by Congress for the suppression of polygamy prior to the passage of the Edmunds Act, was due to the contumacy of the Mormon hierarchy. They successfully intimidated or corrupted certain Federal officers, and thwarted others in their efforts to suppress that crime. The Mormon leaders know full well how to minister to the in-

firmities of weak men, and they also know how to practice the arts of the moral assassin at Washington, in the case of officers of the government who stand bravely in the defense of the honor of their country and for the enforcement of its laws. Sometimes one or two Federal officers have courageously endeavored to maintain the national authority in Utah, but lacking the cooperation of their colleagues, they have been powerless to effect any reform. But during the last three years, the so-called Edmunds Act has been successfully enforced, by virtue of the fact that the Federal officers of Utah have been men of courage and ability, and that they have endeavored faithfully and fully to discharge their difficult and important duties.

During the two years preceding Nov. 1, 1885, there had been 23 convictions for the crime of polygamy and there were then 43 cases awaiting trial. The "Utah Commission" reported, however, during the year 1884, that as nearly as could be ascertained, 459 persons had entered into polygamous or "celestial" marriage relations. The number for the year 1885, could not be stated. Quite a number of polygamy cases have been tried and convictions secured since last October. The "Utah Commission" has of course had nothing to do with the enforcement of the law for the suppression of polygamy, that being a judicial function.

THE PRACTICAL RESULTS WHICH HAVE BEEN ATTAINED THROUGH THE SO-CALLED UTAH COMMISSION.

The facts just stated in regard to the functions of the Utah Commission, the results of the elections held under its supervision and management, and in regard also to the contumacy of the Mormon legislatures elected since its creation, serve as criteria of the extent to which the "Commission" has exerted a moral influence in the direction of reform in Utah, or failed to exert such influence. Composed as it is, of gentlemen of ability and character, and of national reputation, the "Commission" has, of course, to a considerable extent influenced Senators and members of Congress and the people of the country generally, regarding the "Mormon Problem."

The official duties of the "Commissioner" are not trying or arduous. Its members have been accustomed, each year to spend in Utah two or three months, during the summer and

fall seasons, and while there to contemplate the Mormon problem and supervise elections, at which only Mormons are elected. The first report of the "Commission," written in August, 1882, opened with a bright anticipation of what would be accomplished by "Young Utah;" but their last report, written in October, 1885, is pitched in the key of a jeremiad. Heavy penalties are now recommended for the cure of Mormon contumacy, and it is rather more than hinted that the National Government ought to take all legislative powers out of the hands of the Mormons. Sensible and loyal citizens of Utah said to me, "the Commission ought to have gotten that far in three weeks, instead of taking three years." One sturdy American said gruffly—*three days*. The "Commission" have in their last report recommended that the power of confirming officers appointed by the Governor, be taken from the Mormon legislature, and confided to them. While by virtue of personal character and general fitness the Commission is undoubtedly much better qualified to perform that duty than the Mormon Legislature, yet the proposed arrangement appears to me to be inexpedient, for the reason that it would add to the complexity and incongruousness of the present Territorial Government of Utah, the abolition of which I regard as the supreme duty of the hour.

THE PRESENT GOVERNMENT OF UTAH INCONGRUOUS AND IMPRACTICABLE FOR THE GOOD OF THE TERRITORY.

I would for a moment invite your attention to the practical workings of the Territorial government of Utah. Not only is it discordant but it is essentially incongruous. In the mere aspect of administrative efficiency, I can conceive of nothing worse. I see there a firm set and persistent Mormon Legislature, led by cunning and adroit men, forever devising schemes to keep the Mormon grip from slipping; and I see an "American" Governor, having an equal voice in the enactment of laws, interposing his absolute veto in vindication of the honor of his country. I see a Federal Judge sternly administering justice to polygamists of high degree and low degree, and I see also a Mormon judiciary, covertly attempting to embarrass and thwart the Federal Judiciary, and to administer justice among the Mormons by "revelation" and "inspiration." I see again a "board of five persons," known by courtesy as the

Utah Commission, supervising elections independently of the legislative, executive and judicial branches of the government, and all the while waiting anxiously and prayerfully for signs of the advent of "Young Utah;" and far up on the mountain side I see Camp Douglass, whose frowning cannon exert a moral influence which during the last six months has alone prevented the flow of blood in the streets of Salt Lake City; and again scattered throughout Utah I see more than 2,500 Mormon civil officers—chiefly bishops, priests and elders of the Mormon Church in the various counties, towns, cities and villages, embracing the entire police and constabulary of the Territory, who are at all times obedient to the behest of the Mormon hierarchy, and subservient to its will, while a loyal American population sit under the shadow of this social, religious, moral and political blight upon civilization, and with anxious eyes turned toward the seat of the National Government exclaim: "How long, oh Lord! how long."

Viewed as a mere machinery of government, could anything be more discordant, more incongruous, or more absurd? It is the veriest travesty upon government, and I hesitate not to say that it is discreditable to the age and the country in which we live.

NEW FORM OF GOVERNMENT FOR UTAH.

Assuming from the facts hereinbefore presented, that the government now existing in Utah ought speedily to be abolished, the question arises as to the form of government which should be adopted in its stead. Believing as I do that the exigencies of the case demand the complete elimination of Mormonism from any sort of rule or interference in governmental affairs in that Territory, I shall consider only radical methods, and in this connection shall invite your attention to but two plans. The first is the one known as the Idaho plan, viz.: the disfranchisement of all Mormons, and their disqualification "from holding any position or office of honor, trust or profit within the Territory;" and the second plan is that known as a "Legislative Commission," appointed by the President and confirmed by the Senate; in other words, the substitution of such a commission for the present Mormon Legislature.

The plan first mentioned has been in force in Idaho for

somewhat more than a year. It is there working beneficially, and to the great satisfaction of the loyal people of the Territory. It must be remembered however, that there is a large majority of loyal American citizens in Idaho. The political evil in that territory consisted chiefly in a most flagitious and corrupt use of the Mormon "balance of power." But the state of affairs is widely different in Utah. Here the Mormons are largely in the majority. They constitute about three-fourths of the entire population. Without going into any argument, it appears to me to be inexpedient, except in an emergency absolutely requiring it, for the national government to endow a minority of the population of any community with the sole powers of government, especially where the majority are bitterly opposed to the political principles of such minority, and are ever anxious and watchful to herald every mistake, and to denounce as an oppression every act however beneficial or well intended. Nor am I able to see that the occasion for such an expedient has arisen even in Utah, where the minority is loyal, and the majority disloyal. In view of the fact that the Territories are under the direct control of Congress, and therefore at all times subject to the behest of public sentiment, throughout the country, the greatest practical difficulty in carrying out the plan of Territorial government here under consideration, would be, that the country at large could not, in the nature of things, pay sufficient attention to specific complaints in Utah, in order to pass intelligent judgment upon them. This is the very source of the difficulty which, for these many years, has afforded the Mormon hierarchy immunity in the practice of its usurpations of governmental power. Not only has it escaped censure by escaping observation, but it has also achieved wonderful success by means of the falsification of its operations and designs, and by mendacious appeals to Congressional favor and public sympathy. Deception appears to have been carried to the point of a fine art in Utah.

Besides all this, the plan under consideration would, I fear, tend to engender strife among people living together as neighbors, and not geographically separated, as is very much the case in Idaho. While, however, the Idaho plan appears to me to be far preferable to the present incongruous and discord-

ant government of Utah, I most unhesitatingly recommned for the latter Territory the plan of a "Legislative Commission." One of the strongest arguments in favor of this plan is the fact that it is the one which seems to be quite generally desired and recommended by the good, loyal American citizens of Utah,—clergymen, lawyers, doctors, merchants, bankers, journalists, and in fact, the great body of the substantial men of the Territory, who even under the present disturbed and abnormal condition of affairs, have secured a leading position in its commercial, industrial, mining and pastoral pursuits, and in its Christianizing and educational interests.

A Legislative Commission composed of men of high character, and by virtue of their reputation, commanding public respect, would be able to administer the affairs of the Territory impartially, and with the single object in view of eradicating ecclesiastical influence from the control of political affairs. The majority of such a commission should, I think, consist of non-residents of the Territory, in order that its enactments might be free from the bias of those antagonisms which now exist in Utah as between Mormons and "Americans."

The plan of a Territoral Government in this country by Legislative Commission has numerous precedents.

By the ordinance of July 13, 1787, it was provided that a Legislative Council, appointed by Congress, should constitute one branch of the Legislature of the Northwest Territory. This ordinance was adapted to the Constitution of the United States by the Act of Aug. 7, 1789.

By the Act of March 26, 1804, creating the Territory of Orleans,—now the State of Louisiana,—it was provided that the legislative power shall be vested in the Governor, and in thirteen of the most fit and discreet persons of the Territory, to be called *the Legislative Council*, who shall be annually appointed by the President, etc. This act was approved by President Jefferson.

By the Act of March 30, 1822, creating the Territory of Florida, a similar Legislative Commission was created. This Act was approved by President Monroe, who in his annual message of Dec. 3, 1822, referred to the Territorial government thus created as being "established on the principles of our government."

By the Act of March 3, 1823, the Territory of Michigan was organized, its legislative powers being confided to the Governor and a Legislative Council consisting of nine persons.

The jurisdiction of Congress over the Territories being absolute and complete, it has from the beginning exercised a wide discretion as to the forms of government in the various Territories which have been created. By the Act of March 3, 1805, it was provided that the legislative power of the District of Louisiana "shall be vested in the Governor, and in their judges, or a majority of them."

By the Act of May 17, 1884, the Territory of Alaska was created, its administrative government consisting of a Governor, a District Court, and four Commissioners. The laws of the State of Oregon are made the laws of said Territory in so far as applicable.

The government of the District of Columbia is, as you well know, unlike anything else, and only like itself.

The substitution of a "Legislative Council" in Utah, for the present Mormon Legislature, and the entire elimination of the Mormon hierarchy from the conduct of governmental affairs, giving to the Territory loyal Territorial courts, and a loyal constabulary and police system, would, as I firmly believe, besides surpervising the important object of vindicating the national authority, and placing the powers of government exclusively in loyal hands, exert a most beneficial moral influence in breaking the bonds of that mental and moral despotism which the Mormon hierarchy exercises over its deluded followers. Such a radical and beneficial change in the government of the Territory would also tend greatly to advance its material interests.

At the present time Mormonism has a large following, held by merely commerial considerations. If the hierarchy were divested of political powers, such loose adherents, commonly known in Utah as "Jack Mormons," would throw off their nominal allegiance to the Mormon power. Besides, there would be a large immigration into the Territory from the east.

I firmly believe that if the plan here recommended were adopted, there would be found in Utah, in the course of ten years, a majority of non-Mormon American citizens.

THE PROVISIONS OF SENATE BILL 1,283, REFERRED BY THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES TO THE JUDICIARY COMMITTEE.

Although I have just recommended measures for the cure of the political evils of Utah which are radically different from those embodied in Senate Bill 1,283, now before you for your consideration, yet it appears to me that a few observations upon the provisions of that bill will enable me the better to make known to you the exact situation of affairs in that Territory. Section 21 of this bill provides that commissioners appointed by the Supreme Court and District Courts of Utah, "shall possess and may exercise all the powers and jurisdiction that are or may be possessed or exercised by Justices of the Peace," all of whom are Mormons, and I believe also nearly all members of the Mormon priesthood: and section 22 provides that the Marshal of the Territory and his deputies, (Federal officers), shall possess and may exercise, as peace officers, all the powers possessed and exercised by sheriffs and their deputies,—all of whom are Mormons, and I believe also nearly all of them members of the Mormon priesthood. By this means you would have two sets of local officers, exercising the same functions ; the one loyal to the United States Government, and the other loyal to the Mormon Church, with all its abominable pretensions, including the supposed divine character of polygamy. Is it not clear to you that the effect of such an arrangement as this would be to render more complex and incongruous the present discordant government of Utah ?

Section 12 provides for the appointment of fourteen trustees of the "Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints," *i. e.* the Mormon Church. The evident intent of this expedient is that such trustees shall, in the management of the affairs of that Church, be able to overrule the thirteen existing trustees appointed under the authority of the Mormon Territorial government. Without attempting any legal or constitutional argument upon this section,—for I speak as a layman, and not as a lawyer,—it appears to me that such a measure is not only inexpedient, but by a sort of indirection opposed to a fundamental principle of our system of government. It is, I think, generally considered among men that property held and occupied for religious purposes, is an appurtenance of "an establish-

ment of religion," and incidental to "the free exercise thereof." This provision of Sec. 12 appears to me, therefore, to be opposed to the spirit and intent of the first amendment to the Constitution of the United States, which declares "that Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion or prohibiting the free exercise thereof." Manifestly the spirit of this provision of the Constitution was flagrantly violated by the Mormon Legislature in the Act incorporating their Church. Aside from all this, however, the selection of trustees to manage the affairs of a religious institution in Utah is too much of a local matter to command proper attention from the President of the United States.

But sections 13 and 14 provide for summary proceedings to forfeit and escheat to the United States, for the benefit of common schools, property other than that held and occupied by the Mormon Church exclusively for religious purposes. I submit, therefore, that if the provisions of these two sections are enforced, there will be no occasion for such interference with church property as that contemplated by Section 12.

But regarding all these restraining measures, separate and apart from the merits of the specific reforms which they are intended to effect, it appears to me that a government thus emasculated had better be put out of existence.

Sections 4 and 5 of Senate Bill 1,283, concerning the performance of the ceremony of marriage, and the certificate, record and entry thereof, furnish an instructive commentary upon Mormon contumacy. For years the Mormon Legislature has obstinately refused to listen to the solicitations of Congress, and the recommendations of the Governor and the so-called "Utah Commission" to pass a marriage law. That function has been relegated to the Mormon Church, and in so far as the Mormon Legislature is concerned, there it will remain. But, apparently in derision of the National authority the Mormon Legislature has passed a facile divorce law. Now it is proposed that Congress shall descend to the detail of territorial legislation in the passage of affirmative provisions of law, which clearly devolve upon the Legislature of Utah. This looks to me like trifling with the contumacy of a mere dependency, which from the beginning has been essentially an organized conspiracy against the government of the United States.

With profound respect for the distinguished statesman who formulated Senate Bill 1,283, I feel constrained to express the general criticism upon it, that it proceeds upon the theory of attempting to regulate a gross political evil, which, in my judgment should be at once, and forever blotted out.

THE WORK OF CHRISTIAN MISSIONS IN UTAH.

Permit me for a moment, to turn your attention from the somber picture of Mormon outrage and indecency and usurpation, and to present to your view a brighter and purer picture of human life in Utah. I refer to the work of Christian Missionaries,—those noble, self-sacrificing men and women who have gone to that far-off Territory for the purpose of enlightening and lifting up the benighted Mormons by the light of knowledge, and by the elevating and purifying influences of the Christian religion. The various christian denominations of the country are to a great extent bearing the expenses of public instruction in Utah —a work greatly neglected by the government,—and besides, they are there through religious ministrations, laboring to effect a great moral reform. This is a work which the Government of the United States cannot do, and which all experience shows that no government ought to attempt to do. The early missionaries of Utah suffered persecution from the Mormons. One or two of them were murdered, and it was sought by intimidation, by inhospitable treatment, and by annoyances of various sorts to drive off others, or to discourage them in their work. But they were men of firmest fibre, and not to be thwarted in the prosecution of the purpose to which they had consecrated their lives. Besides, the Mormon hierarchy were soon brought to realize the fact that it would not be safe for them in this country to attempt any concerted plan of religious intolerance.

The Protestant Episcopal Church began its work in Utah in 1867, the Methodist Episcopal in 1870, Presbyterian and Catholic in 1871, and the Congregational in 1878. The Baptis Church began somewhat later.

The various denominations now have churches and schools in 77 towns. They employ in all 165 teachers, and are instructing about 5,000 children, 70 per cent. of whom are of Mormon

parentage. It is estimated that the total cost of carrying on these schools is about $150,000 annually. The more intelligent and independent of the Mormons send their children to the Mission schools for the reason that they are so much better than their own public schools, which are not entirely free from the expense of tuition.

The Episcopal, Methodist, Congregational and Baptist Churches appear to be paying especial attention to Church work. The Presbyterian Church has taken the lead in school work, the Catholic Church, under the direction of Father Scanlon, has adopted as its specialty the beautiful charity of caring for the sick, for which work it is, by virtue of its organization, admirably adapted. A hospital has been established at Salt Lake City under the care of the Sisters of the Order of the Holy Cross.

I called on the pastors of the various churches of Salt Lake City above mentioned, for the double purpose of inquiring as to the success of their work, and of obtaining their views upon the "Mormon problem." I asked several of the clergy which in their opinion is the greater evil,—polygamy or the Mormon usurpation of political powers, and each one promptly and emphatically answered *by all means the latter*. Four years ago these gentlemen united in a memorial "to the Patriotic Citizen of America" in which they said "we fully believe that the welfare of Utah, as well as that of the Nation, demands that the political power of the Mormon hierarchy be at once, effectually and permanently broken." The Rev. R. G. McNiece, Pastor of a Presbyterian Church in Salt Lake City, said to me—"A very considerable minority of these Mormons are acquiring a feeling of independence of priestly tyranny and would array themselves as "Americans" if they had the moral support of the National government. Unless such support be vigorous, they go the other way."

I am satisfied that if the United States government should at once, and completely eliminate Mormonism from political rule in Utah, the Christian Churches would, by their ministrations soon exercise such a moral influence over society in that Territory, as to break down the very fabric of false pretension

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upon which Mormonism rests. This would follow as surely as light expels darkness.

None of the christian missionaries of Utah desire that the government of the United States should lay its finger upon Mormonism as a religion, nor do I entertain any such thought. If, however, Mormonism cannot stand without the adventitious aid of political re-enforcement, it will be due to its inherent weakness, or to a lack of devotion on the part of its followers.

I desire to express, in this connection my acknowledgements for information and assistance to Rev, D. L. Leonard, Superintendent of Congregational Home Missions in Utah; Rev. R. G. Mc Niece, Pastor of First Presbyterian Church, Salt Lake City; Rev. Father Scanlon, in charge of the Catholic work in Utah; Rev. Edward Benner, Principal of the Salt Lake Academy of Salt Lake City; Rev. S. J. Carroll, Pastor of Methodist Episcopal Church; and Mrs. Bishop Tuttle, who, in the absence of her husband, The Right Rev. Danl. S. Tuttle, gave me interesting statistical and other information in regard to the work of the Protestant Episcopal Church in Utah and Idaho. In the course of any investigations which you may institute as to the state of affairs in Utah, I would heartily commend to you these intelligent Christian missionaries.

CONCLUSION.

Since the adoption of the constitution of the United States, there have been twenty-five territories created by act of Congress, and in the history of them all there is no record of any attempt at rebellion, nor any expression of public sentiment to the effect that the national authority over them has been exercised in a tyrannical or oppressive manner except in Utah. The general line of policy pursued by the United States government toward the several territories has however been substantially the same, and the record shows that it has been uniformly paternal, enabling and protective. There is not in this country and never has been a public sentiment which would have sustained for an hour a line of policy toward any one of the territories inimical to its interests. The charge therefore that Congress or the administrative branch of the government under either of the two great political parties has pursued any such

policy toward Utah, is a libel upon the Government too absurd to deceive the dullest observer of our current political history. The exceptional acts of the national government toward that territory, other than those for the suppression of polygamy and rebellion, have been in the direction of granting special privileges, and immunities and the record proves it. But from the very beginning there has been trouble in Utah. That Territory has in fact given the national government more trouble than all the other territories put together, and this phenomenal disquietude continues to the present day.

I have recently returned from a journey extending throughout the Territories of the United States. From Montana at the north, to Arizona at the south, I came in contact with hundreds of men engaged in various occupations and walks in life, but nowhere did I hear any complaint against the manner in which the authority of the United States is exercised, nor any statement to the effect that the liberties of the people are in any manner abridged, except in Utah. There I heard the national government bitterly assailed, its Congress declared to be a despotism overshadowing " the Saints," and its officers engaged in the enforcement of clearly expressed laws, maligned, and characterized as tyrants and oppressors of the people. But it required no special investigation to ascertain the cause of these complaints. It was disclosed every Sunday from the Mormon pulpit, and proclaimed daily in unmistakable terms by the Mormon press. Nothing can satisfy these people except to be allowed full license to practice polygamy, and in all their political interests to be " let alone." Both these privileges are claimed as "portions of their religious faith."

While I was in Utah the fact that the territorial government is, in the manner and to the extent hereinbefore indicated, dominated by the Mormon hierarchy, became as clearly apparent to me as the existence of the territory itself; and the truth also flashed upon my mind, that there are no points of agreement, as between Mormonism and a Republican form of government upon which a compromise can be based. The information which I gained there, and facts which I have since ascertained from the public records at Washington, have convinced me beyond the shadow of a doubt, that the denuncia-

tion of the United States government and its officers, and the protests and complaints which agents and representatives of the Mormon power are even now uttering in Washington are not the declarations of loyal Americans standing for their legal and constitutional rights, but the insolent utterances of a disloyal hierarchy and its deluded following persistently and doggedly asserting their right to practice a crime against civilized society, and to separate themselves from the rest of the world in all their political interests by a union of church and state constituting a practical usurpation of governmental powers. Sift as carefully as you may, all the Mormon complaints which may be submitted to you for your consideration, and at the bottom you will find that the claim to the immunities just mentioned is the gravamen of them all.

The whole course of proceeding of these incorrigible sectaries has been so disloyal, and so abnormal, that it is difficult to frame language fitly describing their outrageous conduct.

Not the least of the surprises which greet an American citizen upon first visiting Utah, is the fact that the Senator, well known to the country as the author of the so-called "Edmunds Act of 1882" and of Senate Bill No. 1283, is regarded among the Mormons as the chief enemy of "the saints," and the instigator and leader of Congressional tyranny. The charge is, of course, too absurd to be seriously entertained. The Act and Bill referred to are in fact, monuments to the caution and kindliness of purpose of that distinguished statesman.

The whole difficulty in Utah was expressed in the beginning of this paper—*Mormonism is a politico-religious system, and as such has clashed with the governmental institutions of every, state and territory in which it has acquired a habitat.*

The acts of the people of Ohio, Missouri and Illinois in expelling the Mormons from those states, and the recent Act of the Territory of Idaho, in disfranchising them, have, as I sincerely believe, been dictated by the hearts and consciences of loyal and patriotic Americans, against a system hateful to every lover of civil and religious liberty, and at war not only with republican principles, but with civilization. I commend to you the lesson suggested by the action of these men who know of Mormonism, from actual contact with it, and who have